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U.S. War Production Board

U.S. labor goes to war

[Washington]

1942

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U.S. LABOR GOES TO WAR

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2 *Labor Enlists: The Response to Pearl Harbor*

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5 *An End to Strikes: No Picket Lines on War Work*

6 *The Lesson of Wake Island, by Donald M. Nelson*

LABOR DIVISION
WAR PRODUCTION BOARD
JANUARY 25, 1942

1. A WAR MESSAGE

War is upon us.

Our armed forces are engaged at sea, on land, and in the air, waging war with courage and faith in the cause of freedom—as well as with guns and ships and planes.

Labor must meet the challenge with similar courage and faith and by supplying more guns and more ships and more planes in a steady, ever-increasing flow until the war is won.

Already, in defense of our shores, the guns you have made and the planes you have built and the ships you have launched are blasting the foe. Our victory depends on greater and yet greater production from the workshops of democracy.

Today soldiers, sailors, airmen, and industrial workers share the front line of battle. Our fighting forces rely upon your skill and your energy for the implements of war. The workers of this Nation will prove that free Americans can outproduce, as they can outfight, any combination of slave peoples.

Ours is a sacred task to which we must consecrate mind and heart and hand. We will have to do the best possible job—on the assembly line, in the pit, at the throttle.

This is war—a people's war—a war of the common man against old tyrannies and new barbarisms.

Labor is more united than ever before in this great war undertaking. All labor has pledged its fullest cooperation and participation.

Ours is a labor movement unswerving in its devotion to the aims of freedom and in its determination to keep America strong and free.

Joined in this high purpose, labor can help not only to crush the Axis aggressors but also to build a new world of peace and security.

The time is now.

Democracy's destiny is in the balance.

Labor will never fail the cause of freedom.

Sidney Hillman

Labor Director, War Production Board.

December 9, 1941.

2. LABOR ENLISTS

The Response to Pearl Harbor

American labor has responded quickly, enthusiastically, and virtually unanimously to the country's war needs.

Within a few minutes after the first Japanese bombs fell on Pearl Harbor on December 7, the leaders of labor began flooding Washington with offers of help in prosecuting the conflict that had been thrust upon us.

Ten million union members, through the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, immediately announced formal support of the war effort and thereafter joined in a pledge to prevent all strikes and other stoppages which might impede the production of war munitions and materials. Thousands of local AFL and CIO unions as well as many unaffiliated groups of workers also volunteered immediate support.

Unity for Victory

Leaders in organized labor who had bitterly opposed some phases of the Administration's foreign and domestic program prior to December 7 joined unhesitatingly with other factions of a divided labor movement in the labor peace conference which the President convened on December 18. Out of this joint labor-management meeting there developed on December 23 a unanimous agreement that:

"1. There shall be no strikes or lockouts.

"2. All disputes shall be settled by peaceful means.

"3. The President shall set up a proper War Labor Board to handle these disputes."

In Connecticut, the warring AFL and CIO leaders joined in a pledge of all-out aid and "no cessation of work or production during the war emergency." This declaration, wired to President Roosevelt, said, "Whatever sacrifices are necessary for the final victory will be made."

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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In California, the CIO, AFL, and independent railroad brotherhoods joined in a statement urging "Unity for Victory" as labor's slogan, and recommending "that all factional, partisan, and political differences be immediately forgotten and that all labor organizations unite to win the war."

In the great steel center of Gary, Ind., the CIO's Steel Workers Organizing Committee, representing 35,000 workers in that area, pledged "100 percent cooperation to our Government and [we] offer our services in any capacity the Government sees fit to use us in." AFL unions at Gary called a special meeting to plan ways to unify AFL and CIO war efforts.

The AFL Automobile Workers Union at its convention in Cincinnati approved the President's foreign policy, endorsed the Atlantic Charter drafted by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill, and called for its amendment to provide for labor representation by every nation at the peace table after the war.

No Stoppage of War Production

President William Green, of the AFL, summoned officials of more than 100 affiliated international unions to meet in Washington on December 15, and this meeting, together with the AFL's Executive Council, reaffirmed "loyalty to the principles underlying our Government" and pledged "to the President, to the Congress, and to the people undivided support for the most vigorous and rigorous prosecution of this war until final victory is ours."

The AFL repeated the pledge it made in the first World War "that every stoppage of work essential to adequate national defense be avoided and averted." The statement

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"We have not been stunned. We have not been terrified or confused."*

**All quotations are from the President's address to the Seventy-Seventh Congress, January 6, 1942.*

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indicated willingness to accept temporary suspension if necessary of some labor protective laws for the period of the war and insisted on labor's right to be represented on special war boards which are to act on labor policies.

Organizations of Government employees affiliated with the AFL adopted a statement of wartime policy pledging against strikes and asserting that Government employees "have a special obligation of loyalty to the Government even more than that of the ordinary civilian."

The executive board of an aluminum workers union announced in Tennessee that it had cancelled a strike vote by unanimous action.

On the day that the United States declared war, strikers withdrew pickets from a big powder plant at Ravenna, Ohio.

Mass meetings of unionists were held in many cities to declare against strikes and for increased production of munitions for the duration of the war.

Labor and management representatives of the great maritime industry met with the United States Maritime Commission and accepted a program forbidding wartime strikes and lockouts in the merchant marine.

The Building and Construction Trades Department of the AFL, a large proportion of whose members are engaged as artisans in the Government's 11-billion-dollar war construction program, held a meeting of the presidents of the various unions and thereafter announced to its membership: "There shall be no strikes for any reason whatsoever on defense construction projects."

"The militarists in Berlin and Tokyo started this war. But the massed, angered forces of common humanity will finish it."*

Labor on the Firing Line

It was widely noted in the United States labor press that the construction unions had thousands of members actively "in the war" even before the United States declared war on December 8. "This is labor's war," many labor newspapers noted in reporting that the American Federation of Labor had 700 members at Midway, 400 at Guam, 10,000 in Hawaii, and 10,000 in the Philippines. Reports indicated that the construction workers at Midway and Guam joined actively with the United States Marines in combating the invading Japanese with available arms and munitions.

"We Are Ready to Serve"

President Philip Murray of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, immediately after the declaration of war, addressed the CIO's five million members over the radio with "an urgent message of the necessity for immediately enlisting the full cooperation of all elements in the production of weapons of war and other materials needed for the success of our national effort."

Murray said the CIO men in the war industries are saying to America: "Here we are, ready to serve our country. All we ask is that you let us use our energies and our brains to the utmost and listen to our constructive proposals for achieving all-out production."

On the same day, December 8, President Green of the AFL said in a statement:

> Labor knows its duty. It will do its duty, and more. No new laws are necessary to prevent strikes. Labor will see to that. American workers will now produce as the workers of no other nation have ever produced, and they will keep steadfastly on the job of supplying our armed forces with the munitions of war until victory and final peace are won.

Green also sent a cablegram to Sir Walter Citrine, secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, saying:

> The stern logic of events has finally brought the democratic nations of the world together in a common cause. We must now stand together, fight together, and suffer together until tyranny and totalitarianism are overthrown. This achievement must be realized at any cost. Be assured the workers of America will stand with the workers of Great Britain and their allies, immovable in their determination to carry on until all the Axis powers are definitely and completely defeated.

John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, CIO, with more than a half-million members, said:

> When the nation is attacked every American must rally to its defense. All other considerations become insignificant. Congress and administrative government must be supported and every aid given to the men in the services. Each true American will cooperate. With all other citizens I join in the support of our Government.

Workers Urge 24-Hour, 7-Day Production

Another great flood of labor support greeted the President's request for operation of all war industries on a 24-hour-day, 7-day-week basis.

The war industries, most of which had already been working 2 and 3 shifts daily, proceeded immediately to reorganize themselves for unceasing production during all the 168 hours in a week. Hundreds of thousands of workers agreed to, and in many cases volunteered for, the overtime work that was necessary until the rotating "swing shift" could be put into operation.

In the automobile industry, which had more than 4 billion dollars in defense orders, the United Automobile Workers, CIO, sent telegrams to their managements urging that all

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"Our own objectives are clear: The objective of smashing the militarism imposed by war lords upon their enslaved peoples—the objective of liberating the subjugated nations—the objective of establishing and securing freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear everywhere in the world."*

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defense operations be put on a 24-hour basis. "Production must increase," this union said in a statement. "Every man among us able to do so must join the armed forces. Civilian defense must be strengthened from our ranks. War relief money must pour from our pockets. Any lagging, any failure to utilize every talent or strength toward inevitable victory must be regarded as criminal.

"We are partners now with the heroic soldiers and sailors of Britain, Russia, and China, as well as our own. We are determined that the strength of labor shall be maintained and used in this fight to the uttermost. We are determined that none shall stand in the way."

A program of 7-day, 3-shift operation of the nation's copper, zinc, and lead mining capacity was recommended by the War Production Committee of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, CIO, to the Labor Division. Director Sidney Hillman laid this program before a joint conference of labor, management, and Government officials for action. It recommends the establishment of national and local committees on which Government, management, and labor will be represented to carry out continuous operation in these industries which for many years have operated on a 1-shift basis.

Walter P. Reuther, official of the CIO Automobile Workers Union, advanced a proposal that the big three automobile companies, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler, pool their tank construction facilities, instead of having each company carry out its own operations. "In this way," Reuther said, "we can tool up for production in half the time now estimated, and once we are in production we can turn out three times as many tanks as are contemplated under present schedules."

Not at the Bench Alone

In New York and other cities, central labor union bodies took the lead in collecting blood from their members, in cooperation with the Red Cross and other organizations, to fill up the

"blood banks" of the Army and Navy through mass donations.

Among the hundreds of international and local unions that responded electrically to the Victory Program, the International Ladies Garment Workers set one of the highest goals as their contribution to national security. The ILG's 300,000 members pledged themselves to buy $25,000,000 worth of defense bonds within 6 months. Each member is to contribute 2 weeks' pay, and those unable to purchase the bonds outright will buy them on an installment plan by deducting not less than 5 percent of their salaries each week.

Joseph P. Ryan, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, said his members stood ready not only to work as hard as is necessary but also to protect the waterfront from acts of sabotage.

Americans All

Local Union 51 of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, describing themselves as "organized Italo-Americans of Baltimore City," formally expressed "appreciation of this land of the free which so generously opened its doors to us immigrants in search of bread and work," and proudly affirmed "we are Americans above all."

Frank Dutto, president of New York Local No. 1 of the Bakers and Confectionery Workers union, whose membership is largely German-American, pledged "unqualified support of the union's leadership to President Roosevelt."

The Labor Press

Editorials in the labor union newspapers and magazines were marked by pungent phrasing as well as unanimity of opinion.

Labor, the journal of the railroad brotherhoods, quoted Thomas C. Cashen, chairman of the Railway Labor Executives Association, as follows:

The railroad workers of America will keep the wheels of transportation turning with unparalleled speed and efficiency during every minute and

hour of this war until victory. Railroad workers favor a moratorium on talk so that all may become as one in defense of liberties which are more precious than life itself.

Advance, the newspaper of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, said:

Labor must place voluntary restraint upon its historic right to strike and exhaust every possible avenue of conciliation and arbitration. It must avoid hasty action, for victory in the field of production is the first essential to victory on the battlefield.

The Kansas Labor Weekly said:

The skulking attack on our great democracy by the treacherous Japanese barbarian dictators calls for only one thing—and that is 100 percent unity to show these dictators that our way of life is ours and that we will fight to retain our possession. Organized labor is democracy itself * * * Whatever differences may have been in the ranks of organized labor, those differences *must* and *will* be laid aside and 100 percent cooperation and coordination is the watchword.

The Brewery Workers pledged its support:

We pledge ourselves, as loyal Americans and as members of the great body of organized labor in this country, to join to the fullest extent with our fellow Americans to assure the ultimate and total defeat of our enemies. There can be no division in our ranks * * *

The Colorado Labor Advocate said:

It is a privilege to work and sweat and sacrifice for America. It is an honor to help in the fight against the miserable enemies of our freedom. Let our slogan be: AFL workers will do their duty—ten times over—to smash Japan!

The Labor Herald of Richmond, Virginia, summarized labor's attitude:

Organized labor * * * was among the first to sink its ambitions and announce its eagerness to drop every issue within our country and do everything possible to demolish an enemy without. Organized labor is behind our President; organized labor is behind total defense; organized labor and the American people will be before the enemy when he goes down to ignominious defeat. But when that times comes, and it will come, never forget December 7, 1941.

Out on the plains, *The Wyoming Labor Journal* said:

American labor in this war has a responsibility greater than has ever rested upon it. That responsibility is the production of the tremendous

quantity of munitions of all kinds fundamental to victory. That labor will do its utmost goes without saying. They will make good as Americans always have in time of trial.

It would be impossible to quote from all of the labor papers, but every paper received after the attack on Pearl Harbor has joined with great vigor and with striking emphasis in the general conviction that there must be unity and continuous production until victory is won. The universal sentiment seems to be summed up in *The Union Labor News* of Santa Barbara, California, which proclaims in a front-page editorial: "The American labor scene changed as quickly over the week-end as did civilian and military life."

The Wisconsin Teamster sees the Axis as a dragon:

With the explosion of the first bomb at Pearl Harbor, all minor irritations and differences of opinion in America were blasted out of existence. This is a war to preserve the freedom and advances which labor has so painfully helped to achieve. Labor must now, more painfully and more determinedly than ever, protect its advances and that freedom by devoting itself completely to the primary task at hand—the destruction of the three-headed dragon of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

The Anthracite News said:

One single purpose, above all others, now inspires the members of the CIO, along with all true Americans. It is to win victory over Hitler and his Axis partners who have attacked our country because it stood in the way of their drive for world conquest and the enslavement of the human race. The United Mine Workers of America stands ready to do every thing in its power to aid the Government in the prosecution of the war * * * to a successful victory and ultimate peace. This is in the tradition of the "greatest union in the world." It has been said that the United Mine Workers * * * contributed more in men and in other services toward winning the first World War than any other organization in the Nation. That record undoubtedly will be equalled and maybe surpassed in this emergency.

"We must raise our sights all along the production line. Let no man say it cannot be done. It must be done—and we have undertaken to do it."*

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3. MANPOWER

The Action Program of Labor Supply and Training

Five million men and women have been mobilized in 18 months to make and use the tools and run the machines for war production.

Great demands for qualified workers in production of planes, tanks, ships, guns, ammunition, and the other war necessities have been anticipated and met by the Labor Division in cooperation with management and labor groups and other Government agencies.

After December 7, 1941, the onset of war trebled our need for production of war equipment and war workers.

More Workers, More Production

The Labor Division, working with labor unions, management, and other Government agencies, had already taken steps to provide at least 3,000,000 more production workers in 1942, plus 1 or 2 million to replace those called to serve in the armed forces.

Now it has become necessary instead to recruit, train, and employ at least 10 million workers this year, to bring our war production force to 15 million.

The President in his first war broadcast December 9 announced a decision to "speed up all existing production by working on a 7-day-week basis in every war industry, including the production of essential raw materials," and to add to production capacity by building new plants and converting existing plants, large and small, to war needs.

On December 11, unions of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations were called upon by Sidney Hillman, head of the war labor program, to accept immediate 7-day-week operation for war work, negotiating necessary contract changes later by collective bargaining, and, if necessary, using arbitration to settle any disputed points. Most war production plants were already working 2 or 3 shifts daily.

More Training

Hillman called on public vocational schools to expand their courses so that all their shop and training machinery will be used on a 24-hour-day and 7-day-week basis. "The outbreak of war makes it as imperative to use our training machinery to the utmost as to use our production machinery full time," he said. More than 600 such schools were already working around the clock.

A Central Labor Supply Agency

The Labor Division, working with organized labor, Government agencies, and business management, surveys present and future war labor requirements, determines policy on standards of work and training, assists in preventing and adjusting labor-management disputes which might retard production, and advises with other war agencies on all matters affecting labor. Its actions are based on the President's policy of voluntary cooperation and the maintenance of social gains.

First step, in June 1940, was the formation of a committee of 16 leading trade-union officials to consult on policy. Many labor-union leaders were enlisted to staff the Labor Division. Unions were brought into the administration as well as the planning of the defense program.

Another early step was an inventory of workers available for defense jobs and defense training in every area of the nation. The United States Employment Service, at the Labor Division's request, undertook this task through the 1,500 public employment offices. With the cooperation of the Civil Service Commission, the Social Security Board, and the WPA, and with the help of surveys made by unions of their memberships, more than 6,000,000 workers were registered. War industries have thus been able to recruit manpower quickly.

Training Vital to Defense

Urgent need of training was noted at the start. A program of defense training was adopted and carried out through existing agencies and with the cooperation of local schools, public officials, management and labor groups, the WPA, NYA, and CCC, under the Labor Division Defense Training Branch.

As a result, when war broke out, training programs, financed by the Federal government, were being conducted by public education authorities in every state for the development of qualified workers for war industries.

A total of 2,477,400 persons had received instruction through these programs since their inception on July 1, 1940. One thousand public vocational and trade schools, 155 colleges and universities, and 10,000 public-school shops assisted in the programs.

Training Within Industry

Development of in-plant training and upgrading was undertaken by a Training Within Industry Branch of the Labor Division. This Branch, working through training specialists borrowed from factory management, and aided by labor and management advisers, consults with war contractors, providing assistance and advice in setting up programs of training, upgrading, and instruction of foremen and lead men. More than 2,000,000 workers in war contract factories received in-plant training from employers through arrangements made by this branch.

The NYA and CCC programs also have provided training and work experience to hundreds of thousands of young workers. The NYA has 77,400 now enrolled in its new Youth Work Defense Program, in addition to 51,400 participating in regular NYA work projects tied into war production, and 334,000 who have completed defense training courses since July 1, 1940.

Training for Farm Workers

The war's food demands probably will require an expansion of training for farm workers during 1942. Under the current program financed by Congress, training in farm operations, with special emphasis on mechanized tools, is being conducted in school shops in 2,500 rural communities. During the past year 349,700 youths have been enrolled in this program, and 46,080 are now taking these courses. These courses train farm boys so that they may be useful in industrial production, as well as more efficient in agricultural work.

The engineering, science, and management defense training courses in the engineering schools of colleges and universities are particularly important in view of the great need for technical and supervisory personnel in defense industries. A total of 220,000 attended these courses in 1941, and 83,000 were enrolled on December 1.

Vocational training courses for defense workers are on two levels, first, supplementary courses to upgrade employed workers, and second, preemployment training for unemployed workers.

The supplementary courses, correlated with the Training Within Industry Program, have increased from the first month's enrollment of 25,000 to a December 1 enrollment of 179,140. During the 18 months this program has operated, 835,400 have been enrolled. It was planned to train 900,000 in 1942 in these supplementary courses, but the war calls for expansion far beyond this figure.

"Speed will count. Lost ground can always be regained—lost time never. Speed will save lives; speed will save this nation which is in peril; speed will save our freedom and civilization—and slowness has never been an American characteristic." *

Preemployment training emphasizes the types of work most needed for war production and is designed to develop "production workers"—semiskilled or single-skill workers and replacements for more experienced men who are upgraded to foremen or supervisors. Training is given for a specific job in a specific industry. During the 18 months of this program, 712,000 have been enrolled and 127,264 were taking such courses on December 1. Included in this number were 133,490 WPA workers, 89,089 of whom have voluntarily left WPA to accept employment.

A Coordinated Program

The Labor Division, through a deputy director for labor supply and training, coordinates the activities of the many Federal and State agencies concerned with the matching of men to jobs in the constantly expanding war industries. This deputy also supervises the activities of several labor division branches, and other Government agencies directly concerned with the manpower problem.

Policies followed by these agencies are formulated by the National Labor Supply Policy Committee, made up of six labor union (AFL and CIO) and six management representatives. The Deputy Director works closely with this committee, and also with an interdepartmental labor supply committee which includes representatives of other agencies concerned as well as the affected branches of the Labor Division.

Policy and directives for training, employment, and orderly transfer of workers from civilian to war production jobs are worked out through this machinery, which also includes Labor Division Branches of Labor Supply, Negro Employment and Training, and Minority Groups, as well as the Defense Training and Training Within Industry Branches.

"We must not underrate the enemy." •

A Priorities Branch was established to watch closely the effect of priorities on employment and to help minimize displacement of workers by spreading war production work to smaller factories which have not heretofore participated. A Housing Branch surveys labor situations as they relate to needed housing in defense areas and advises Federal housing agencies on labor policy.

To bring about a more direct expression of the needs and attitudes of organized labor, and to promote harmony in labor-management relations, a Labor Relations Branch was established. Staffed almost entirely by representatives of major labor organizations, its structure parallels the other branches of the Labor Division to which the Labor Relations staff members act as consultants. A special section of the branch has been devoted to the development of labor-management cooperation, working with the United States Conciliation Service in the settlement of labor disputes.

The success of these efforts to adjust disputes in their early stages is shown by the fact that from June 1940 to December 1941 strikes of primary significance to defense involved only 259,000 workers who lost 2,556,514 man-days of work—a fraction of 1 percent of the more than 800,000,000 man-days of work which went into defense production in the same period.

Meanwhile, the war effort increased total industrial employment to an all-time high, surpassing the 1929 peak by 4 million persons. In November 1941 there were 40,693,000 at work in war and civilian industries.

Eager cooperation by the Nation's workers has completed ships, factories, and thousands of defense projects far ahead of schedule.

"We Must Do More"

United States entry into the war junked all previous schedules and gave a new definition to "all-out production."

The Labor Division recognized that the progress made was not enough for war, and estimated that the war labor force would have to be trebled—to 15 million workers—within 12

months, and even sooner if the factories and machines can be made ready.

A general shortage of supervisory personnel exists in the war industries along with shortages of skilled workers in certain crafts and occupations. Seven-day-week operation of these plants further increased the shortages.

Four principal lines of action were urged on the Nation:

1. There must be full utilization of local labor before workers are recruited outside the community.

2. Artificial barriers to employment must be broken down in order to utilize all qualified workers regardless of age, sex, color, or ancestry.

3. Training programs must be expanded within industry and outside of industry to increase the skill of employed workmen and develop initial skill in untrained, unemployed workmen.

4. Conversion of civilian industry to war production must be speeded up.

If these measures fail, steps must be taken to effect transfer of skilled workmen from civilian to war industries.

"We must guard against divisions among ourselves and among the other United Nations. We must be particularly vigilant against racial discrimination in any of its ugly forms." *

4. GROUNDWORK FOR ALL-OUT PRODUCTION

Progress Through Master Agreements

America entered the war with worker-employer relationships stabilized to a high degree, particularly in the basic and war industries.

Broad expansion of labor organizations and contractual relationships during the previous 8 years, under the orderly procedures of collective bargaining, had helped to build a national structure of improved wage standards and stable working conditions contributing greatly to rapid and effective expansion of war production.

Shipbuilding "Stabilized"

During the "defense period" (June 1940–December 1941) a great step was made toward orderly production and expansion in shipbuilding through uniform "zone standards" covering wages and working conditions and forbidding all stoppages. These were drafted in joint conferences of labor, management, and Government, and made effective by incorporation into collective bargaining agreements. They have cut down "raiding" by employers in rival shipyards, and have prevented chaotic spiraling of wage rates. United States navy yards have increased their wage rates to the same levels as those of privately owned yards.

The Labor Division also helped develop a nationwide agreement between the defense construction agencies and the AFL building trades unions which regularized working conditions and overtime wages, in addition to foregoing strikes, on all defense construction. (Construction makes up about 11 billion dollars of the war budget.)

The international unions have given excellent cooperation in carrying out these agreements.

Chaotic employment conditions which might occur in a rapid shift to wartime industry and to war economy should be circumvented as a result of the worker-management contractual relationships which now exist in iron and steel, automobile, coal, and other basic industries. In these industries, wages, working conditions, and seniority are safeguarded by union contracts. Necessary changes in hours and working conditions are being evolved by union and management negotiators, accustomed to the orderly settlement of problems and grievances.

In the automobile and rubber industries, unions and managements, with the Labor Division, have worked out standards which will govern and permit the transfer of workers to war industry jobs, safeguarding their rights and hastening the transfer process to expedite the war effort.

A high level of wages, with generally uniform provisions covering working conditions, has been developed in the rapidly growing aviation industry with the assistance of the Government's conciliation and mediation machinery, without the loss of important time in strikes and stoppages.

In recent years, management and labor have established national or regional contractual relationships, with few or no stoppages, in the railroad, maritime, longshore, pottery, foundry, trucking, and glass industries.

All Out for Victory

A few days after the Japanese assault on Hawaii, labor and management in the maritime industry met with the Maritime Commission and agreed upon a program forbidding wartime strikes and lock-outs, providing for a special board to settle disputes, and setting up a uniform system of bonuses and insurance. The Commission reported that this action completely stabilizes the industry for the duration of the war, with the preservation of the sailors' rights of collective bargaining and the recognition of all existing agreements and obligations.

5. AN END TO STRIKES

No Picket Lines on War Work

Rapid solution of all outstanding labor disputes, and elimination of major stoppages caused by strikes, marked the first weeks of America's active participation in the war.

During December, 1941, according to Labor Division reports, there were only 8 stoppages in war industries, involving 3,800 workers and resulting in 9,800 man-days of idleness. Only 2 of the strikes started after war was declared on December 8, and at the end of December there were no strikes of significance to war production.

In December stoppages were one-third as many as in November, with one-third as many workers affected, and they lost less than one-eleventh of the time lost in November.

After December 8, response to the all-out production need was indicated by settlement of 29 threatened strikes, covering 35,000 workers, with the assistance of various governmental agencies. Two defense strikes were ended by mutual agreement on December 8, the day Congress declared war on Japan.

New Lows in Strikes

The weekly trend in significant defense stoppages is shown in these figures:

Week Ending	*No. of Strikes in progress* [1]	*Workers*
Nov. 15	7	4,400
Nov. 22	9	11,000
Nov. 29	5	5,200
Dec. 6	3	1,100
Dec. 13	3	400
Dec. 20	4	700
Dec. 27	1	400
Jan. 3	1	400
Jan. 10	0	000

[1] Figures overlap.

Government conciliation and mediation machinery for peaceful settlement of grievances and disputes was increased at the start of the defense effort in June of 1940, and has functioned steadily since to prevent interruptions of production.

The records of the Labor Division list 583 cases, involving 2,168,400 workers in plants having Army, Navy, and Maritime Commission contracts, in which threatened strikes were settled without any work stoppages from June 1, 1940, to December 15, 1941.

The Labor Division's staff, made up largely of union leaders from AFL, CIO, and the Railroad Brotherhoods, and labor-relation experts from industry, cooperates with the enlarged force of the United States Conciliation Service and the National Labor Relations Board in strikes as well as negotiation cases.

Strikes of primary importance to defense production, from June of 1940 to November 1, 1941, numbered 143, involving 259,000 workers who lost 2,556,514 man-days of work.

The National Defense Mediation Board, established in March of 1941, tackled the more serious cases after conciliation efforts had failed. In 112 cases up to the end of December, involving more than 1,000,000 employes, work was continued or resumed while the Board was deciding the merits of the disputes.

On January 12, 1942, the President acted on the unanimous three-point agreement reached by the management-labor

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"We cannot wage this war in a defensive spirit. As our power and our resources are fully mobilized, we shall carry the attack against the enemy—we shall hit him and hit him again wherever and whenever we can reach him."*

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conference December 23 that there would be no strikes or lockouts, that all disputes would be settled by peaceful means, and that the President should set up a War Labor Board to handle these disputes. On that date he established by Executive Order the National War Labor Board composed of 12 members—four representing labor (two CIO, two AFL), four management, and four representing the general public. To this Board he gave the power to "finally determine" all controversies "which might interrupt work which contributes to the effective prosecution of the war."

The Executive Order provides the following steps for settling controversies:

1. The parties shall first resort to direct negotiations or to the procedures provided in a collective bargaining agreement.
2. If not settled in this manner, the Commissioners of Conciliation of the Department of Labor shall be notified if they have not already intervened in the dispute.
3. If not promptly settled by conciliation, the Secretary of Labor shall certify the dispute to the Board, provided, however, that the Board in its discretion after consultation with the Secretary may take jurisdiction of the dispute in its own motion. After it takes jurisdiction, the Board shall finally determine the dispute, and for this purpose may use mediation, voluntary arbitration, or arbitration under rules established by the Board.

"We know that we may have to pay a heavy price for freedom. We will pay this price with a will. Whatever the price, it is a thousand times worth it."*

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6. THE LESSON OF WAKE ISLAND

You have read the magnificent story of the marines on Wake Island. You know what they did with four airplanes. Suppose that during the last 18 months we, the comfortable stay-at-home American people, had given that extra bit of self-denial and made that extra effort by which those marines could have had fifty airplanes instead of four: don't you imagine the story today would be a little different? Different? Why, those boys would probably be in Tokyo by now—as conquerors, not as prisoners of war.

Keep that Wake Island story in mind every day from now on. Use it as your measuring stick. There will be many more battles before this war is won; would *you* care to be in the position, when those battles are fought, of having kept our fighting men from having one bit of sorely needed equipment? Of course you wouldn't; you would go and hang yourself rather than accept such a responsibility. Yet every single part of this gigantic effort to swing over into full war production has its own Wake Island somewhere in the background. Every time this Nation has to make up its mind about some problem of industrial conversion, of expansion of production of raw materials, of any other phase of this tremendous effort—*every time* that we have such a decision to make, we are handling the sacred lives of a certain number of unknown American soldiers.

Every time we lack the imagination to use machinery to the best advantage, we are prolonging the war, with all its toll of death and suffering. Every day that we waste arguing over how a needed job is going to be done increases the

***"We are inspired by a faith which goes back through all the years to the first chapter of the book of Genesis: 'God created man in his own image.'"** **

chances that some other gallant group of boys is going to have to go into action backed by 4 airplanes instead of 50.

Do we let a ton of copper stay in the ground when we might have got it out by using a little ingenuity? Then we diminish our own chances for victory.

Do we accept 50-percent conversion of an industry's tools to defense production when we might possibly have had 70 percent if we had insisted on taking nothing less? Then we send some of our boys into action with the odds against them.

Do we fail to make use of scattered machines in small shops, because our imagination isn't up to the task of finding a way to spread war production out into the nooks and crannies of our industrial structure? Then we have blundered to precisely the same effect as the general who unwisely sends troops out to attack a stronger foe.

That is the kind of compulsion we are under from here on in. And when I say "we," I mean all of us—ordinary citizens back home and Government officials in Washington alike. Every one of us must see clearly that there is one big job today and that everything else is second to it.

We must get and hold the point of view which sees no necessary accomplishment as impossible, which looks on obstacles only as things which are to be knocked out of the way, and which is ready to try any new routine, any new device, any new way of doing things, in order to get results.

***"Only total victory can reward the champions of tolerance, and decency, and freedom, and faith."** **

Chairman, War Production Board.

WE WILL DO IT!

The President has set our goal.
We have raised our sights to meet it.
We'll give our fighting men the 60,000 planes in 1942.
We'll give them the 45,000 tanks.
They'll get the 20,000 anti-aircraft guns.
And we'll deliver the 8,000,000 tons of ships.

These things we will do together. They will come from the minds, the hearts, and the hands of 130,000,000 free men, women, and children.

Only a free people can achieve such goals.
We can do it.
We will do it!

"Our task is hard—our task is unprecedented—and the time is short. We must strain every existing armament-producing facility to the utmost. We must convert every available plant and tool to war production. That goes all the way from the greatest plants to the smallest—from the huge automobile industry to the village machine shop.

Production for war is based on men and women—the human hands and brains which collectively we call Labor. Our workers stand ready to work long hours; to turn out more in a day's work; to keep the wheels turning and the fires burning twenty-four hours a day and seven days a week. They realize well that on the speed and efficiency of their work depend the lives of their sons and their brothers on the fighting fronts."

Franklin D. Roosevelt

President of the United States.

January 6, 1942.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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WAR PRODUCTION BOARD
LABOR DIVISION
Washington, D. C.

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